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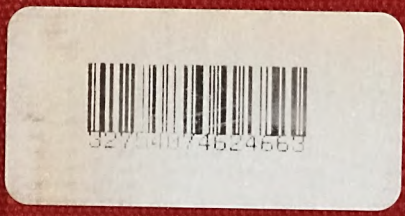

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ENGLISH HISTORY AND ITALIAN DRAMA

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS FOR 1930

By Professor Edmund G. Gardner

I must first express my deep appreciation of the honour done me by the Association in inviting me to follow so many far more eminent scholars as President. My choice of subject for this address was suggested to me, in the first instance, by the eloquent criticism of certain aspects of the Italian drama in the seventeenth century by a former President, Senator Benedetto Croce, in his recent volume on that period, where he draws attention in particular to the tragedy of Federigo della Valle on Mary Queen of Scots.[1] Much has been written—notably by my friend and colleague, Professor Piero Rébora[2]—on the debt of the English drama to Italian sources, and the representation of Italy in English plays of the Tudor and Stuart period. I propose today to offer some remarks upon the other side of these literary relations between England and Italy; to deal with certain works in which, simultaneously and later, Italian dramatists drew upon British history for the subjects of their tragedies.

This process begins with the early years of the seventeenth century, and is not unconnected with the remarkable profusion of works on the political history of European countries other than Italy produced by Italians at the same period: a profusion already satirized by Traiano Boccalini, who, in his *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (published in 1612), makes Apollo forbid the writing of the history of foreign countries by anyone who had not lived twenty

[1] *Storia della età barocca in Italia* (Bari, 1929), pp. 360-3.
[2] *L'Italia nel Dramma Inglese*, 1558-1642 (Milan, 1925).

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years in the country in question.[1] Tommaso Campanella, the famous Dominican philosopher whose greatness as a poet has only gradually become recognized, tells us that in 1598 he composed in Italian a tragedy on Mary Queen of Scots.[2] This has not been preserved. There are extant, written in Italy between 1604 and 1672, six other plays on Mary Stuart; two upon the matrimonial affairs and amours of Henry VIII; and one upon Oliver Cromwell. In addition to these more or less regular dramas, there is record of plays from English history represented in Jesuit colleges in Italy on Edward the Confessor, Thomas à Becket, and Thomas More.[3] The seventeenth-century Italian drama on English history, at least in the earlier examples, reflects the attitude of post-Trentine Catholicity in Italy towards countries that had accepted the doctrines of the Reformation. It reflects, too, the intense interest taken by the age in maxims of statecraft, the *ragion di stato*, that the proscribed Machiavelli had elevated to the rank of a science. Giovanni Botero, the Piedmontese ecclesiastic who had been secretary to San Carlo Borromeo, in his *Ragion di Stato* (1589), had attempted to harmonize the statecraft of the age with the principles of religion and morality. He had defined *ragion di stato* as "knowledge of the means adapted to found, maintain, and amplify a state." But we learn again from Boccalini that, when Botero's book was presented to Apollo for admission to the Delphic Library in Parnassus, the Censors rejected the work, and, for Botero's definition of *ragion di stato*, substituted another: "*Ragion di stato* is a law useful to states, but utterly contrary to the laws of God and of men."[4] The dramatists naturally realized that these maxims could, conveniently and safely, be placed upon the lips of English and Scottish heretics.

A tragedy of singular poetic beauty is the *Reina di Scotia* of Federigo della Valle, a native of Asti—that same Piedmontese town that, in the following century, was to give birth to Vittorio Alfieri. It was published at Milan in 1628, with a dedication to Pope Urban VIII.[5] It is almost entirely free from the exaggerated conceits and extravagant metaphors characteristic of seventeenth-century Italian poetry. Though constructed on the model of a classical tragedy, with a Chorus of Scottish girls, the Queen's hand-

[1] *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, i. 54.

[2] "Composui Tragœdiam Mariæ Scotorum reginæ secundum Poëticam nostram non spernendam" (*Syntagma de libris propriis*, ed. V. Spampanato, p. 21).

[3] *Cf.* E. Bertana, *La Tragedia* (in *Storia dei generi letterari italiani*), pp. 174, 178; Croce, *I Teatri di Napoli* (Bari, 1916), pp. 53-4.

[4] *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, ii. 87.

[5] *La Reina di Scotia tragedia di Federigo della Valle* (Milan, 1628).

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maidens in captivity, it remains essentially what Croce calls "un martirio di santi"—the subject, the last hours of Mary's life, being treated simply as the death of a Catholic martyr. The verse is the usual mixture of lines of eleven and of seven syllables, with an occasional, but sparing, use of rhyme.

The scene is an open space, perhaps a kind of loggia, in the castle of Fotheringay, where Mary is allowed to walk and take the air. The ghost of the King of France, her dead husband, speaks a sort of prologue, setting forth her hapless condition; after which the Queen and the Cameriera, her elderly woman attendant and confidante, enter. Mary is throughout a noble and queenly figure, and the dramatist does not seriously depart from history. To her companion's urging that there are still grounds for hope, that her son, the King of Scotland, is preparing for war upon England unless Elizabeth (Isabella) will release her, and that the victory is most beautiful that is born from the field of suffering, she replies: "Mia vittoria sarà la sepoltura." Does not her companion remember how, four months ago, Beale and another, "empi ministri di donna empia e cruda," came to take away from her the signs of royalty and even the name of Queen? Beale is, of course, Robert Beale, the clerk of the Council, who throughout the play is transformed into a Machiavellian counsellor of Elizabeth. But Mary receives meekly her woman's rebuke for saying that Heaven had abandoned her:

Riconosco l'errore,
e già ne piange il core,
ma 'l mal, che preme, a la memoria toglie
il ben che può venir, e ne la vita
infelice ch'io passo
provo che male a male
malamente succede,
tal ch'io non ho di ben, nè di speranza
più memoria nè fede.
Pur non s'aggiunga anco l'errore al danno,
sollevisi quest' alma e tu l'aita,
O Re che la creasti,
O Re de la mia vita.
E se per colpa mia cadder le membra
in tenebroso affanno,
s'alzi per tua pietà l'anima almeno
nel tuo dolce sereno.

The Queen retires, and the Chorus of Scottish girls enter, whom she has sent out to take the air and leave her alone at her prayers. The Cameriera goes in, bidding them pray, and their prayer closes

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what is apparently the first act (the division of scenes and acts is not otherwise indicated).

A servant enters, sent by the captain of the castle to speak with the Queen. He is to announce that royal ministers have arrived, and his master thinks that they bring orders for Mary's release. The Cameriera brings him in to Mary, while the Chorus sings of hope. He re-enters, overcome with the Queen's graciousness, the lyrical measure of the Chorus alternating with his narration of his reception by Mary, whom he has found in prayer before the Crucifix. He goes; the Queen appears again, and there is a lyrical dialogue between her, the Cameriera, and the Chorus. To comfort her women, Mary will yield to hope, and there is a fine passage in which in imagination she sees herself once more in Scotland, surrounded by her friends, sharing her new joy with them, dispensing pardons and rewards:

Che dirò? che farò? qual sarà il core?
quai saranno i pensieri?
vedran questi occhi gli occhi
di tante amate genti a se rivolti;
e la letizia mia
partita in mille fronti, in mille cori.
Onorerò onorata,
più gradirò servita;
perdonerò, tornerò il seggio a molti
de la prima fortuna.
Ascolterò, risponderò, donando
or grazie, ed or mercedi.
Ahi opre lungamente tralasciate,
come in lieve speranza
or fra dolci ed acerbe
a l'alma mi tornate!

The Chorus sees a foreigner of authoritative gait approaching: may he be the messenger of liberty! But Mary recognizes Beale, the minister of Elizabeth. Then follows the scene between him and Mary. His Queen, moved by compassion, demands that Mary should renounce her claim to the English throne, and abdicate from that of Scotland on behalf of her son, pledging him and herself from henceforth to accept the religion of England and anathematize Rome. According to her answer, he will inform the Lords who have the Queen's authority "to execute what will then be just." Mary spurns his proposals, and declares herself ready to die for the Roman faith. As Beale goes, the Chorus implores him to tone down the Queen's reply, but he answers that it matters not, as the decision has already been taken; he has come to hear what he has heard and thereby confirm the judgment

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of his Queen. Mary comes out again. The Cameriera urges her still to hope; Elizabeth has offered terms for fear of Spain and Scotland, and is trying to extort what she can before releasing her. The Chorus breaks out into a song of hope, beginning "Dolci campi di Scotia," depicting their own return to their native land when their mistress is liberated.

The representatives of Elizabeth, the Counts of Pembroke and Cumberland, approach, and Mary moves forward to receive them. They hand her a paper that brings her liberty, and then, as she begins to read it, tell her that her way of liberty is death. Mary asks for a day's respite for preparation; but this is refused, and in tender lines she checks the lamentation of the Cameriera:

Assai hai fatto, assai
hai amato, hai servito;
lasciami ch'io men vada
ove 'l mio Dio comanda,
e solo aggiungi a questa guancia mia
la cara guancia tua.
Ciò ricevi per segno
ch'io gradisco il volere:
questo sia il dono estremo
a te d'una tua amica,
a me d'una sorella.

Mary is removed, the soldiers forbidding her women to follow. Her Maggiordomo (the steward, Melville) announces that she has been taken to her apartment to prepare for death, and he has left her writing to her son. The death procession enters, the mace-bearer clearing the way. There is a beautiful scene between Mary and the Maggiordomo when he moves forward to support her to the place of execution:

Maggiordomo. Ahi ufficio crudele
di sventurato servo,
sventurato e fedele.
Io dunque ti conduco, O mia Reina,
ti conduco a la morte?

Reina. Vieni, caro, vien meco.
Nulla più potrai far, che caro sia,
se non questo ch'or fai.
Sempre m'accompagnasti
nel corso de la vita, o buona o ria;
accompagnami or' anco
nel passo de la morte;
e movi cón il piè la lingua meco,
a pregarmi virtute e sofferenza,
in cosi orribil varco.

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The voice of the headsman, "Viva Isabella altissima Reina," announces the end. The Maggiordomo enters and describes the scene. Mary has given him the letter to the King her son—commending her damsels to his care, as though they were his sisters, and the Cameriera. He reports her last speech: she declared that she never plotted against Elizabeth's life, but that, if it is a crime for a free Queen to attempt to escape from unjust prison, she died justly condemned, and welcoming a death the true cause of which was her religion:

> Così moro ben lieta. Voi, s'alcuno
> v'è pur fra voi, ch'abbia il medesmo senso,
> prego preghi per me, e 'n ogni luogo,
> in ogni tempo testimonio renda,
> che Maria Stuarda muor Reina
> ubidiente a quel ch' impera e insegna
> Roma sacrata e il Signor suo Santo.
> Et eccomi a morire.[1]

Mary repulsed the executioner offering to aid her to disrobe, and called upon a woman among the spectators, whom she kissed before placing herself under the axe. The lamentation of the Chorus is checked by the messenger directing the bringing in of the Queen's body, consigned to them and the Cameriera for burial. The girls lift the pall to look upon their mistress once more, and then take the bier upon their shoulders as the curtain falls.

We are in a totally different atmosphere with the *Maria Stuarda* of G. F. Savaro, Archdeacon of Mileto, which was published at Bologna in 1663.[2] Presumably Savaro, no more than Federigo della Valle, would have endorsed Swinburne's lines on Mary:

> But surely you were something better
> Than innocent!

Nevertheless, we are no longer concerned with the death of a Catholic martyr, nor with historical verisimilitude; the play is one of intrigue and conspiracy, in which the most amazing liberties are taken with history. It is in three acts and in prose. An apology is made in the preface for the use of prose for a subject to which the "majesty of verse" is due, and also for the neglect of the dramatic unities. Further, "the author has changed some accidents of place, time, and action, to reduce the work to a pro-

[1] The motive of Dean Fletcher's exhortation—utilized in an earlier Italian play, *La Reina di Scozia*, of Carlo Ruggeri (Naples, 1604)—does not occur.

[2] *La Maria Stuarda, opera scenica dell' Archidiacono Savaro di Mileto* (Bologna, 1663).

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portionate measure. He has represented the death of Mary in London in order to introduce Elizabeth upon the scene."

The action takes place in several parts of the royal palace of London: Mary's prison, the apartment of Elizabeth, that of Isabella Lesley, and a garden adjoining Mary's prison. And various Scots are present in the palace. The villain of the piece is Murray, "James Stuart, Count of Murray, bastard brother of Mary," who is represented as an apostate religious. It is he who has murdered Darnley, induced Mary to marry Bothwell, and betrayed her into the hands of Elizabeth. Edmund, Duke of Norfolk, is the chivalrous lover of the imprisoned Queen, and wishes to kill both Murray and Elizabeth; but Mary, who is a somewhat colourless character, deprecates all violence. Murray tells his confidant, Morton, that Leicester (here called "Henry, Count of Leicester") is seeking Mary's hand in order to become King of both Scotland and England when she is released, and he himself is using his knowledge of Leicester's design to excite Elizabeth's jealousy. Leicester advises Elizabeth that, for her safety, either Mary's death or her liberation is necessary, and he recommends the latter course, even if it should cost Elizabeth her throne, the loss of which will be her glory. The Queen's suspicions are aroused. Isabella Lesley, who is betrothed to Leicester, professes herself ready to release him, in the belief that it is Elizabeth whose hand he is seeking. Norfolk finds allies in Herries and Sigibert Hamilton, two adherents of Mary who are yearning to exact vengeance upon Murray—whom Mary exhorts to repentance. Norfolk and Mary secretly marry, and Leicester, finding himself under Elizabeth's suspicion, is won over to their cause by Isabella. He is at first reluctant, declaring that he would fain die "without the stain of rebel"; but Isabella retorts:

> What is this name of rebel? An invention of the rulers to terrify their peoples; a bridle to check generous spirits, so that they may not rise in their valour to chastise tyranny; an opiate to put the senses of subjects to sleep, that they may not awake to shake off the yoke of servitude; a chain to fetter the public, in order that the licence of the great may have space to tyrannize without fear.[1]

Thus abjured Leicester joins the conspiracy, Isabella's part being to lure Elizabeth to the garden where it is to take effect. Leicester and Norfolk come to kill the Queen, Herries and Hamilton to kill Murray, the result being an encounter in the dark between the two parties under Elizabeth's eyes, and the arrest of the two English noblemen. Murray—who represents the *ragion di stato*, and has on his lips the maxims that the Counter-Reformation accepted as Machiavellian—denounces

[1] Act II, Scene xiv.

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Mary to the Queen, and obtains her sentence of death with arguments that read like a perversion of passages in the *Principe* :

He who fears the hatred of the people knows not the art of ruling. To take as lawful only what is just is manifestly to depend upon the judgment of others. Know you not, Madam, that the primary good of the kingdom is that the people should be compelled both to suffer and to praise whatever their rulers do? He who wisely wields the royal sceptre takes as lawful only what is advantageous. The death of Mary is advantageous to your interests. Let her die then. Who shall be judge of the deed, where there is no superior to take cognizance of it?[1]

Murray himself bears the sentence of death to Mary, and is killed by Hamilton as he leaves her presence. Norfolk and Leicester are brought before Elizabeth and condemned to be beheaded, Leicester (whom the author has possibly confused with Essex) declaring that he was moved only by "il desiderio d'una pubblica libertà." His head is sent to Isabella, who kills herself, and Norfolk's head to Mary, who is herself then put to death. Elizabeth is left gloating over her rival's head.[2]

A far more notable work—indeed, in some respects, the most remarkable tragedy of the seventeenth century in Italy—is the *Cromuele* of Girolamo Graziani, first published in 1671.[3] The subject was one in which Italians were interested. Maiolino Bisaccioni had written a *Historia della guerra civile d'Inghilterra de' nostri tempi*; and the Jesuit Giacomo Lubrano in a poem shortly after the event, had introduced stanzas on the execution of Charles and the triumph of Cromwell:

Emolo de' monarchi
accampi un Cromuelle
esercito rubelle,
e di Londra infedel sospenda agli archi
trofei d' empie vittorie.[4]

It is curious to notice that three of Graziani's characters—Edward Hyde (Clarendon), Anne Hyde (who died in the year of the publication of the play), and Lambert—were still living when he wrote; and the poet himself was secretary to Duke

[1] Act III., Scene xviii. *Cf.* Machiavelli, *Principe*, cap. xviii.

[2] A few years later Savaro dealt, in somewhat similar fashion, with the love of Henry VIII for Jane Seymour and the execution of Anne Boleyn in his *Anna Bolena* (Bologna, 1667).

[3] *Il Cromuele, tragedia del conte Girolamo Graziani* (Modena, 1671; Bologna, 1671 and 1673).

[4] *Lirici Marinisti*, ed. Croce (*Scrittori d' Italia*), p. 467.

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Francesco of Modena, whose sister, Maria Beatrice, was to succeed Anne as the wife of Duke James of York.

Graziani had won his fame as a poet with the most esteemed epic of the century, *Il Conquisto di Granata*, and the *Cromuele* is the work of his old age. In the preface it is announced as "una tragedia di nuova moda"; and an apology is again made for disregard of the rules of classical tragedy, which should be considered, not as imposing limits upon the poet's genius, but merely as lights for guidance, appeal being made to the examples of Ariosto, Guarini, and Tassoni, who used the like freedom in other kinds of poetry. The "nuova moda" results in a play in five acts, the line of eleven syllables predominating in some parts, that of seven syllables in others, which in the change of scenes and general treatment bears some resemblance to our Elizabethan and Jacobean drama.

It opens in the house of Edward Hyde. Orinda, widow of a former companion-in-arms of Cromwell and confidant of his wife Elizabeth, calling upon Anne Hyde, is enamoured by the singing of Edmund, who, with his companion Henry, passing as Dutch merchants, has been shipwrecked on the English coast and is being sheltered by the Hydes. The scene changes to Cromwell's house, where a great festivity is preparing to celebrate his triumph, the author obviously knowing nothing of the ways and principles of the Puritans. Cromwell is in consultation with Lambert and Harrison. Harrison declares that his leader has surpassed Cæsar:

> Mentre a la patria sua la libertate
> Cesare usurpa e Cromuel la rende.

In him are to be admired "in Cesareo valor sensi di Bruto," and nothing now remains but to enjoy the fruits of victory. Cromwell answers that there is still danger from the Royalists, and, with Machiavellian reasoning, urges that the imprisoned King must die for the peace of England. Lambert pleads for mercy, but is despatched to secure the assent of the army, Harrison that of the Parliament. Left alone, Cromwell, in a powerful soliloquy of "Machiavellian" inspiration, reveals his real mind. Reconciliation with the King, even if it were possible in appearance, would only lead to his own ruin:

> Chi contra il suo signor la spada strinse
> non la deponga mai che con la vita;

and, on the other hand, are not the complaints against kings just? He has learned from such masters the royal art of deceiving the people, and will better the instruction to their own ruin:

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superando a lor danno il loro esempio ;

and make the law serve his designs. The death of Charles may be declared impious and execrable, since no one has authority to judge a king, but the event will justify the deed :

ha nome di virtù colpa felice.

For him there is nothing but the precipice or the throne, but he will proceed in such a way that his own interests shall seem public zeal. If London has learned from his words to abhor the name of king, he will find more acceptable titles under which to assume the kingly authority, if not the name.[1] Elizabeth and Orinda join him, the former full of preparations for the festivity ; but Cromwell gloomily declares that security is lacking, and that the severed head of Charles will be the anchor of afflicted England, "which seems a ship tossing in a sea of blood." When he has gone, Elizabeth confesses to Orinda that her heart is divided between desire of reigning and love ; she loves the imprisoned King, and has urged Cromwell on in his rebellion because Charles ignored her advances.

The Second Act opens again in the house of Edward Hyde, who recognizes the shipwrecked Henry as Queen Henrietta. Anne enters and is informed. With considerable hesitation the disguised Queen accepts their protestations of loyalty, and tells them that "Edmund" is her damsel Delmira. Anne proposes to devise a plan for the liberation of the King by persuading Orinda —whose son Arthur is governor of the Tower—to introduce the supposed Henry and Edmund among the latter's servants. We return to Cromwell's palace. Harrison has won over the Parliament, Lambert the army, where Fairfax has professed himself ready to resign his authority. Cromwell would have this postponed, in order that the odium of Charles's death should fall upon Fairfax and the advantage upon himself. Orinda suggests to Elizabeth that the placing of the two youths with Arthur will give her an opportunity to offer her love to the King as a possible means for his liberation. Elizabeth reluctantly consents. Orinda reveals in a soliloquy her own love for "Edmund." She informs the two supposed youths of her plan : while "Edmund" and "Henry" are in attendance on the King (the former in his capacity of singer), she will introduce Elizabeth into the apartment. Delmira can hardly restrain Henrietta from betraying herself, but, when Orinda has gone, persuades her to agree, for she can devise a plan to delude "la mezzana, l'adultera, e'l tiranno."

In the Third Act we are in the Tower of London. Arthur loves Anne Hyde, and will employ "Edmund" as his messenger to her. The King is musing aloud in his prison while "Edmund"

[1] Act I, Scene iv.

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sings, and then, hardly looking at her, he asks "Henry" his name and country. Then Orinda brings in Elizabeth, who pours out her love, which is gently rejected by Charles with what she calls useless academical commonplaces about love and honour. She is beginning to threaten, when Orinda proposes to leave the King to think better of it. The two go; Delmira sings again, and the Queen gradually reveals herself to Charles, who vainly urges her to make her escape. We return to Cromwell's house. News has reached him of Henrietta's mysterious departure from Holland and the wind having driven her ship to England. Harrison assures him that no danger can arise, but Cromwell will anticipate any possible plot by hastening on the execution of Charles. "Henry" and "Edmund" (apparently as Arthur's servants) enter at the back, as Elizabeth is urging Cromwell to delay the death of the King until he can get the Queen, too, into his hands. Delmira persuades Henrietta to induce Charles to pretend to accept Elizabeth's love, while she herself completes the pact with Orinda. Orinda makes passionate love to the supposed "Edmund"; she is a widow, but neither black robes nor mature age hinders love:

> Anzi il sol nel meriggio ha più vigore,
> primavera è d' Amore età d' autunno.

As the attempted seduction of a youth by a mature woman, the scene—in the characteristic style of the Seicento—is effective, "Edmund" finally promising to give her his love when they are out of their present troubles.

In the Fourth Act the scene is apparently at first in Hyde's house. Delmira reports to Henrietta that Orinda has told her that, if Elizabeth obtains the love of the King, she will find means to save him. But the Queen answers that Charles would choose death rather than a feigned love. They decide that, instead, they will rescue the King that night during the masked ball in the tyrant's palace. By pretending to aid his love for Anne, Delmira will obtain the necessary password from Arthur. Anne tells Delmira of her love for the King's son James, but, to save Charles, she will allow her to use her name with the governor. Her father will have a faithful ship ready in which they will all escape to France. Anne herself, masked, will be at Cromwell's ball at a certain place to receive the news that all is ready. Orinda overhears a part of what she takes to be this love-scene between Anne and "Edmund." The scene changes to the Tower, where Charles expresses to Arthur his disgust at the festivities that celebrate the devastation of the kingdom; but the governor answers that obedience will compel him to attend. They see

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Cromwell's wife, followed by a band of masqueraders, cross the stage below the walls. Charles moralizes, but Arthur finds a certain unreality in his copybook phrases and resignation: "these austere arguments of rigid virtue" are mere words. We pass to the masked ball in Cromwell's palace, where Hyde is awaiting his daughter and Orinda has come disguised as Anne. Delmira as "Edmund," thinking she is Anne, tells her that they have the password, speaks of the coming fulfilment of her love (which Orinda misunderstands), and says enough to make the now furiously jealous woman realize what is on foot. Anne herself is vainly awaiting Delmira, when her father enters to tell her that he has heard Orinda revealing the plot to Cromwell, who has ordered the instant arrest of "Edmund" and the execution of the King at sunrise. They hasten to fetch Henrietta from their house for the flight to France.

The Fifth Act opens before the Tower of London at sunrise. Henrietta is wandering round seeking news of the King's fate. A letter flutters through the air; it is from Delmira, written in the King's blood (which Arthur has sent her), imploring her to fly. Delmira calls to her from a window of the prison, where, still as "Edmund," she is under sentence of death. A messenger enters and describes the King's end. Hyde finds Henrietta in a swoon, and conveys her unconscious to the ship.

Within Cromwell's house Orinda is triumphant, Elizabeth somewhat remorseful. Arthur announces that with Cromwell's leave, "e mi fu liberal de l' altrui scempio," he has stabbed "Edmund," and left him dying in charge of his servant Robert. Robert enters to report that "Edmund" is dead, but that before dying had proved to be a girl, and asked for a message to be sent to her aunt Aleria in Ireland. Orinda realizes that she was her own daughter Rosilda (who had been sent to Ireland in infancy, Aleria passing as her aunt), and Arthur that he has killed his own sister. Orinda rushes off to kill herself on the body of the girl, while Elizabeth speaks of the loss of a daughter of her own in childhood, the wound being still in her heart.

The back of the scene opens, and shows Cromwell asleep in his chair, Harrison and Lambert in attendance. He mutters of horrible visions, and wakes. In a dream the shade of Mary Queen of Scots has appeared, and shown him the Restoration, the outrage done upon his body, the fires and floods that will devastate London that has been "spettatrice crudele a tanti scempi," and his own fate in Hell. Mere dreams, says Lambert:

> L' altre cose svanir, ma questa è vera,
> che Carlo è morto, e Cromuele impera.

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Ireton enters, with news of fresh triumphs and the submission of Ireland. He has brought a letter to Elizabeth from Aleria, which will be consolation to her and Cromwell. Cromwell will read it, while they summon his wife. The letter announces that their daughter, believed dead, still lives; she is Delmira, who had been substituted for the child of Orinda who had died in infancy. Cromwell rejoices until the entry of Elizabeth, when the truth is revealed, and she is borne off in a swoon by Harrison. Cromwell, left alone with Lambert and Ireton, is prepared to face his destiny unflinchingly:

> Ma venite, piombate
> tutte sovra di me sciagure e pene;
> ebbi cuore a tentar gran cose, e cuore
> avrò per sofferire anche gran mali.
> Io patirò, non temerò; quest' alma
> è di dolor, non di timor capace;
> nè fia di Cromuel poco ristoro,
> che vinse, che regnò. Ma questi sono
> vani consigli e debili conforti.
> Posso tutto evitar, ma non fuggire
> quel verme, che nel cor sempre mi rode
> coll' acerba implacabile memoria
> de le miserie altrui, de le mie colpe;
> onde porto in me stesso il mio tormento.[1]

Quotations and this bare summary cannot give an adequate idea of the power of these scenes, that even the absurdity of the conventional substitution motive does not seriously mar. Throughout the play, while the love passages and the whole character of Orinda is entirely in the spirit of the Seicento, the figure of Cromwell—however impossible historically—seems to belong to a different sphere; there is no trace of the customary conceits and metaphors, all that we understand by "secentismo," in the lines that fall from his lips. The literary affectations and trivialities of the age disappear when his tremendous personality is on the scene.

Later Italian literature produced no play from English history to stand with these two relative masterpieces of Federigo della Valle and Graziani. Vittorio Alfieri, in 1779, wrote his *Maria Stuarda*, a tragedy centring round the death of Darnley; but the result seemed to himself "debole e freddo," and it is certainly inferior to his other dramas. Tommaso Sgricci, in 1825, improvised a play on the death of Charles I., *La Morte di Carlo primo*, in which the King is secretly a Catholic, and Cromwell finally brings about his destruction by intercepting a brief from the

[1] Act V., Scene xiv.

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Vatican proposing to raise the Catholic powers on his behalf. Giambattista Niccolini, in 1839, wrote his *Rosmonda d'Inghilterra* on the story of Rosamond Clifford and Queen Eleanor.

More interesting than these is the *Tommaso Moro* of Silvio Pellico, published in 1833, the year after the publication of the story of his own tragedy—his ten years' martyrdom—in *Le mie Prigioni*. In Pellico's play Anne Boleyn, moved by the last words of the Maid of Kent, is attempting to win More's pardon from King Henry, while Thomas Cromwell is bent on securing his execution, which Margaret Roper vainly tries to induce the citizens of London to rise against and prevent. Pellico was probably too humble-minded to intend any analogy between himself and his hero; but the device by which it is attempted to entrap More, the telling him that Bishop Fisher has saved his life by recantation, is not unlike some of those practised upon the Italian martyrs of the Risorgimento; and More's unshakeable constancy before his judges reminds us that, when Pellico himself was on trial for his life, his bearing made the Inquisitor Salvotti speak of "lo scoglio della sua fermezza." Pellico had little sense of humour, and Mistress Alice, "una donna onesta, ma d'animo volgare," does not appear upon the scene. Said the boy of Ancient Pistol on a historic occasion: "I do not know the French for fer, and ferret, and firk." Had Pellico read the scene, preserved by William Roper, where Mistress Alice visits her husband in the Tower, he would have known, but abstained from using, the Italian equivalent for the first expression in her "blunt salutation." A merely temporary embarrassment would, perhaps, have been given him by "will this gear never be left"; but I doubt whether he could have coped with "Tilly vally, Tilly vally."

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

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NOTES AND NEWS

THE YEAR BOOK

In February the Committee of this Association resolved to issue a Year Book of Modern Literary and Linguistic Studies. Such a work, if produced on a plan that would economically permit its regular appearance each year, and if duly supported by members of the Association and others interested in Modern Humanities, should help to co-ordinate studies, to guide specialists who are in need of information outside their own range, and to present to librarians of universities and learned societies a reliable annual conspectus of the progress of literary, historical, and linguistic research in Europe. It will furnish a statement of results, tendencies, and values complementary to those furnished by the *Year Books* issued by the Classical and English Associations, and complementary also to this Association's highly valued *Bibliography of English Language and Literature.*

The Committee instructed Professor W. J. Entwistle, of Glasgow University, to approach the authorities competent to deal with research in the principal European studies, and it is now possible to state that the *Year Book*, while generally commended in the abstract, has received a sufficient measure of active support to justify its issue. The Association is deeply indebted to the following experts, who have promised to contribute summaries of research within their own fields of study: Mediæval Latin, Mr. F. J. E. Raby. Romance—*French*, Dr. E. C. W. Braunholtz, Miss Claudine Wilson, Professor F. J. Tanquerey, Professor E. Eggli; *Provençal*, Rev. H. J. Chaytor; *Catalan*, Professor I. G. Llubera; *Spanish*, Professor Llubera, Mr. W. Atkinson; *Portuguese*, Professor E. Prestage; *Italian*, Professor C. Foligno, Professor P. Rébora; *Rumanian*, Mr. Marcu Beza. Germanic Studies—*German*, Professor R. A. Williams, Mr. M. D. I. Lloyd,

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Professor G. Waterhouse, Professor L. A. Willoughby; *Scandinavian Languages*, Professor J. G. Robertson and others; *Dutch*, Professor P. Geyl (probably). CELTIC, Mr. J. Macdonald, Mr. G. J. Williams, Mr. M. Dillon. SLAVONIC STUDIES, Mr. N. B. Jopson. An attempt has been made to give the collection proportions corresponding to the actual research interests of the Association's membership, yet without sacrificing fulness of statement in fields which are none the less important because they commonly receive too little attention.

It is hoped that the *Year Book* will be issued in December. The price will be 3s. 6d., post free, to members of the Modern Humanities Research Association through the Hon. Treasurer, and 6s. 6d. to non-members through any bookseller. Members can very considerably lighten the uncertainty attaching to this new publication by placing their orders in advance, and so giving an indication of the support on which it can count.

The Bibliography of English Language and Literature for 1929, edited by Miss M. S. Serjeantson, will also be ready by December. The price is as for the *Year Book*—3s. 6d. and 6s. 6d.

Subscribers living outside the British Isles are strongly recommended to add 3d. registration fee to their remittance for each of the above publications, which will then be sent by registered post. The Association regrets that otherwise it cannot accept responsibility for loss or delay in transit.

The Hon. Treasurer wishes to remind members, other than life members, that the subscription for 1930-31 becomes payable on October 1, 1930. When paying their annual subscription many members like to remit also the reduced advance subscription of 15s., which entitles them to the *Modern Language Review* for 1931, together with the subscription to the *Bibliography*. With regard to the last-named item and to the new *Year Book*, we are always anxious to remind subscribers that their names may be placed, at their request, on the permanent list, in which case they will receive their copies immediately on publication. This is a way in which members can do the Association a very real service.

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The Hon. Treasurer acknowledges with many thanks the following contributions to the Capital Fund :

Miss E. Derham, 14s. ; Alexander Bell, Esq., 5s. ; Miss D. Everett, 5s. ; Miss D. V. Ives, 5s. ; Professor Mary Porter, 4s. 9d. ; Dr. J. F. Bense, 4s. ; Professor R. Girvan, 4s. ; Miss H. M. Briggs, 3s. 6d. ; Mrs. M. K. O'Kelly, 2s. 6d. ; Professor J. Orr, 2s. 6d. ; Dr. L. A. Willoughby, 2s. 6d. ; C. E. Bazell, Esq., 2s. 6d. Total, £2 15s. 3d.

The present Hon. Treasurer, Professor L. C. Martin, the University, Liverpool, resigns office on September 30 next, and the Association is glad to place on record its appreciation of his generous services. His successor will be Professor C. M. Girdlestone, Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, whom we welcome to office, and to whom all subscriptions should be sent from October 1 onwards.

Dr. C. F. Harrold, Department of English, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich., U.S.A., is engaged on a translation of Knut Hagberg's *Thomas Carlyle*, and on a study of *Carlyle and German Thought*. He would be glad to know whether any translation of the former is projected elsewhere, and to receive from members relevant information or opinions on either.

Bibliography.—The Librarian, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A., is anxious to have a complete file of the *Bibliography*. He has all volumes with the exception of vols. ii., iii., and iv., which are out of print. If any member has copies of these volumes for disposal the Hon. Secretary would be glad if he or she would communicate with the Purchasing Agent of Marquette University (1217, Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A.) direct.

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Lafcadio Hearn: Lectures on Prosody; Lectures on Shakespeare, Edited by I. Inagaki; *Essays on American Literature.* Introduction by Albert Mordell. Edited by Sanki Ichikawa. (The Hokuseido Press, Kanda, Tokyo, Japan.)

Landscape in English Art and Poetry. Laurence Binyon (Japanese Publication.)

Le Conflit Dramatique en France de 1823 *à* 1830. M. Treille. Éditeur, Picart, Paris.

Meredith College Quarterly Bulletin. Series 23, November, 1929, No. 1.

P.M.L.A. Vol. xliv., Nos. 2, 3, and 4 (June, September, December, 1929), and Supplement; vol. xlv., Nos. 1 and 2 (March, June, 1930).

René Fülop-Miller's Search for Reality. A Biographical Study of the Author and his "Weltanschauung," by Wilson Vance.

Smith College Studies in Modern Languages. Vol. x., April, 1929, No. 3.

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INDEX TO MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

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